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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 PM-07 NSC-07

SP-03 SS-20 RSC-01 L-03 H-03 INRE-00 CIAE-00 INR-11

NSAE-00 PRS-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 TRSE-00 DRC-01 /103 W
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INFO SECDEF PRIORITY
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JCS PRIORITY
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S E C R E T ATHENS 6666

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, MARR, GR
SUBJ: DEFMIN AVEROFF'S CURRENT VIEWS ON NATO
WITHDRAWAL DECISION AS EXPRESSED TO CODEL
ROSENTHAL

SUMMARY: AVEROFF INDICATED WITHDRAWAL DECISION MIGHT BE REVERSIBLE, THAT GOG AWARE OF AND WISHED TO RETAIN INFRA-STRUCTURE BENEFITS, AND THAT FRENCH RELATIONSHIP WITH NATO TOO CLOSE TO SERVE AS MODEL FOR GOG. BASE ISSUES WERE COMPLICATED AND RESTUDY LAUNCHED TO FORMULATE PROPOSALS TO BE PUT TO NATO. BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WITH USG WOULD BE HONORED EXCEPT WHERE THEY HAD "COLONIAL ASPECTS" AND REVISION WOULD BE SOUGHT IN THESE CASES. HOMEPORTING FACILITIES WERE "SOURCE OF FRICTION" AND THERE WOULD BE PRESSURE TO TERMINATE SHORT OF FIVE YEAR TERM. END SUMMARY

1. DURING COURSE OF SEPTEMBER 10 MEETING WITH CODEL ROSENTHAL (OTHER SUBJECTS COVERED IN SEPTEL NOTAL), DEFMIN AVEROFF RESPONDED TO SEVERAL QUERIES RE SITUATION WHICH
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LED TO WITHDRAWAL DECISION, IMPLICATIONS THEREOF, AND

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GOG'S INTENTIONS RE IMPLEMENTATION. AVEROFF INITIALLY AVOIDED ANSWERING QUESTIONS ABOUT GOG'S INTENTIONS CONCERNING US FACILITIES BUT THEN CLEARLY DECIDED TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING WITH ROSENTHAL IN VIEW OF LATTER'S LONG RECORD OF PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO GREEK MILITARY REGIMES.

2. AVEROFF ASSERTED THAT GREECE DEFINITELY OUT OF NATO AND NOT BLUFFING, AS IT HAD BEEN ACCUSED OF DOING. GREECE COULD REENTER NATO ONLY IF RELATIONS WITH TURKEY WERE NORMALIZED. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT GREECE'S SECURITY DIMINISHED AS RESULT OF WITHDRAWAL, BUT CLAIMED THAT FAILURE TO ACT DECISIVELY WOULD HAVE JEOPARDIZED GOVERNMENT AND "LOSS OF SECURITY WOULD HAVE BEEN GREATER ON INTERNAL FRONT." HE STATED THAT UNDER GREECE'S PREVIOUS INTERNAL SITUATION, THERE WAS NO SECURITY IN OR OUT OF NATO.

3. AVEROFF ILLUSTRATED GREECE'S INABILITY TO PARTICIPATE IN NATO MILITARY BODIES WITH TURKEY BY NOTING THAT SINCE DECISIONS TAKEN BY CONSENSUS, TURKEY COULD BLOCK ANYTHING FAVORABLE TO GREECE. IN EVENT TURKEY VETOED, GREECE THEN MIGHT HAVE TO REFUSE THINGS FOR TURKEY. WHEN REMINDED THAT FRANCE PARTICIPATED IN EUROGROUP OF DEFMINS, AVEROFF DESCRIBED EARLIER FRENCH WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO AS INCOMPLETE SINCE FRANCE TOOK PART IN MANY NATO ACTIVITIES. GREECE'S INVOLVEMENT WITH NATO WOULD NOT BE SIMILAR TO FRENCH; RATHER, IT WOULD BE MORE TENUOUS.

4. AVEROFF DESCRIBED QUESTION OF BASES IN GREECE AS VERY COMPLICATED AND ONE WHICH HAD BEEN STUDIES BY GOG. HE COMMENTED THAT GOG HAD FORMED ANOTHER GROUP PREVIOUS DAY TO RESTUDY PROBLEM AND FORMULATE PROPOSALS WHICH GOG WOULD MAKE TO NATO. HIS COMMENTS CONCERNING INFRASTRUCTURE PROGRAM REVEALED AWARENESS OF GREAT BENEFITS GREECE ENJOYED UNDER THIS PROGRAM AND COMPLICATIONS INTRODUCED FOR ITS CONTINUATION BY WITHDRAWAL DECISION. GOG WOULD SEEK A "MEDIUM" SOLUTION TO ASSURE ITS CONTINUED PARTICIPATION.

5. TURNING TO US-GREEK BILATERAL AGREEMENTS, HE STATED THAT WHERE AGREEMENTS HAD BEEN SIGNED, GOG WOULD HONOR ITS SIGNATURE. HOWEVER, WHERE FACILITIES HAD GONE TOO

FAR AND HAD ACQUIRED "COLONIAL ASPECTS" GOG WOULD ASK FOR REVISIONS. HE CITED HELLENIKON AIRPORT (I.E. ATHENAI AB) AS EXAMPLE, BUT HIS ENSUING COMMENTS CONCERNED FLIGHT CLEARANCE PROCEDURES RATHER THAN FACILITY, SUGGESTING THAT AGREEMENT OF OCTOBER 3, 1966 MATTER OF CONCERN RATHER THAN ATHENAI AB. HE SAID THAT FLIGHT CLEARANCES WOULD HAVE TO BE "PUT ON BASIS OF CIRCUMSPECTION."

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6. AVEROFF CITED HOMEPORTING FACILITIES IN ELEFSIS AS ANNOYANCE TO GOG AND SOURCE OF FRICTION. IT HAD BEEN A MISTAKE TO PUT THESE IN ELEFSIS, AS THEY SHOULD HAVE BEEN INSTALLED IN CRETE OR PELOPONNESUS. HOWEVER, SINCE AGREEMENT COVERING FACILITIES HAD TIME LIMIT GOG MIGHT JUST LET IT EXPIRE. WHEN REMINDED THAT AGREEMENT WAS FIVE YEAR TERM FROM JANUARY 8, 1973, THUS SCHEDULED TO EXPIRE IN JANUARY 1978, HE COMMENTED THAT THERE "WOULD BE PRESSURE TO MODIFY" THE AGREEMENT.

7. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH AVEROFF NOTED SEVERAL TIMES THAT HE WAS GIVING PERSONAL VIEWS AND THAT GOG POSITON NOT YET FIXED, HIS COMMENTS ARE CLEAR INDICATION OF COURSE GOG POLICY LIKELY TO TAKE RE NATO SITUATION AND US-GREEK BILATERAL ACCORDS.
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